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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2575th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 17 April 1985, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2575)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/17093)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of April, I should like first to pay tribute on behalf of the Council to Mr. Blaise Rabetafika, representative of Madagascar and President of the Council for the month of March, for the wisdom and great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the business of the Council last month. I am sure I express the feelings of all members of the Council in sincerely thanking Mr. Rabetafika for his work as President.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/17093)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lebanon in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the period from 10 October 1984 to 11 April 1985 [S/17093]. Members of the Council have also received document S/17100, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in Council consultations. I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/17062, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 March from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General, and S/17067, which contains the text of a letter dated 29 March from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council.

4. I understand that the Council is prepared to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection I shall now put it to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions [resolution 561 (1985)].

5. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Mr. President, since this is the first meeting of the Council in April, it gives me great pleasure, as the representative of a fellow Pacific-Ocean country, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency. I am confident that you will guide our deliberations with your well-known skill. Equally as the representative of an Indian-Ocean country, I salute the very great skill with which the representative of Madagascar guided the Council during the month of March.

6. My delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution just before the Council. Australia has been a strong supporter of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. It has been a generous and willing contributor of funds for UNIFIL operations. That support will continue.

7. We recognize the dangers and difficulties under which UNIFIL operates. These difficulties have been outlined clearly in the last report of the Secretary-General

and in the letter to him from the troop-contributing countries [S/17067, *annex*].

8. We deplore all acts of violence in Lebanon, especially those which make difficult the effective operation of UNIFIL and which endanger civilian lives.

9. The resolution which the Council has just adopted reiterates that UNIFIL should fully implement its mandate as defined in the resolutions of the Council.

10. It remains Australia's hope that the parties concerned can create the conditions necessary for the effective operation of UNIFIL. In this context, we look forward to Israel's complete withdrawal from Lebanon and the return of the sovereignty of the Lebanese Government over its territory, both of which Australia holds as important objectives.

11. Clearly, in the months ahead the Council will need to consider what future role may be open to UNIFIL. This is particularly important given the present critical phase in UNIFIL's operations. It will be necessary for the Council to consider in a timely manner how it will address the important issues involved. The Australian delegation stands ready to contribute constructively to this work.

12. We note that the Secretary-General has foreshadowed the need for some new consultations between the two parties to consider UNIFIL's future role as the Israeli forces withdraw from southern Lebanon. Australia would support any such co-operation with the Secretary-General and would hope that the two countries concerned would agree to participate in such discussions.

13. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. It has just been demonstrated that the Council is able to do constructive work under your wise guidance. I also want to pay tribute to the representative of Madagascar, Mr. Rabetafika, for the gentle, good-humoured and extremely skilful way in which he guided the work of the Council during the busy month of March.

14. It is indeed gratifying to note that our decision today to prolong the mandate of UNIFIL coincides with the process finally under way of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Thus the moment seems appropriate for reflection on the role of UNIFIL in this process and in the wake of the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces, to which the Government of Israel has committed itself.

15. Developments in southern Lebanon during the last months have clearly demonstrated that violence breeds violence. The threat or use of force will not bring genuine peace and stability to the area. On the contrary, it will only engender counteraction, which is bound to lead to a further deterioration of the situation. This cannot be in the interest of any of the parties concerned.

16. In his latest report on UNIFIL the Secretary-General rightly points out that the best means of achieving peace

and security in Lebanon south of the Litani River after the Israeli withdrawal would be an orderly take-over from the Israeli forces, with the ultimate aim of restoring the complete authority of the Lebanese Government and army in that area. As is stressed by the Secretary-General, this requires some form of consultative mechanism under United Nations auspices, and Denmark urges both parties to resume talks as soon as possible in order to achieve this purpose.

17. My Government believes that UNIFIL should be assigned important tasks in the process, taking into account the legitimate security interests of all parties concerned and thus finally allowing the Force to play the role originally envisaged for it in Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

18. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that even under the most adverse circumstances the Force has in the past amply demonstrated its ability to reduce considerably violence in the area of operation and even to bring complete quiet to the area when all parties supported and co-operated with it.

19. Denmark thus fully understands and shares the position and concerns about the future role of UNIFIL which the troop-contributing countries expressed in their letter of 28 March [*ibid.*]. We join in their urgent call upon the Governments of Israel and Lebanon to meet the requirements necessary to ensure security for all concerned in the area in the wake of the complete Israeli withdrawal.

20. We owe it to the troop-contributing Governments, and indeed to the very concept of United Nations peace-keeping forces, to secure at least the minimum conditions from the effective future work of UNIFIL as outlined by the Secretary-General in his report.

21. We interpret the resolution just adopted by the Council as endorsing further action by the Secretary-General along the lines described in his report. Like him, we do not believe that it is in the interest of any of those concerned to allow a situation to arise in which violence is likely to continue and escalate and in which UNIFIL will find itself once again in a position of embarrassment, ineffectiveness and even danger.

22. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to General Callaghan, his staff, the officers and the men of UNIFIL and the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) for their continued dedication to their task and courage in extremely difficult circumstances, as well as to the Secretary-General and the Secretariat for their untiring efforts in promoting peace in Lebanon.

23. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I offer congratulations to Peru. It is a mark of your country's international achievements and of the wealth of talent in Peru that two Peruvians should be sitting together at the head of this horseshoe table today. We know your own talents and your own achievements, Sir, and we welcome you to the presidency.

24. The month of March was a particularly arduous one, and this makes us all the more grateful to our colleague of Madagascar for the patient, skilful and effective way in which he guided our activities in that month.
25. My delegation set out the British Government's views on the situation in southern Lebanon when the Council met to consider the matter last month [2570th meeting]. These views have not changed. Regrettably, since that time there has been no improvement in the situation. The withdrawal of Israeli forces has continued, but it has been accompanied by a further escalation of violence and retaliation which has solved nothing and only added to the sufferings of the civilian population. Outsiders have been sucked in too. Several of my countrymen have been kidnapped. One of them, Mr. Alec Collett, who was working for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in Lebanon, is still being held. I appeal in this forum for his release.
26. The overriding need now in southern Lebanon is for the cessation of violence on all sides. The first essential towards achieving this is the continuation and completion of the long-overdue withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. In the mean time, until its forces have withdrawn south of the border, Israel should scrupulously observe both the letter and the spirit of the Geneva conventions. A continuation of its "iron fist" policy will serve only to fan the flames of violence and make it more difficult to achieve the security which it seeks for northern Israel.
27. The Secretary-General has given us his considered views of the present situation in the observations contained in his latest report. My Government fully supports the efforts he has been making and the views and recommendations contained in the report. We had hoped that by this time agreement might have been reached on having UNIFIL deploy to the international border in fulfilment of its original mandate. We continue to believe with the Secretary-General that the Council's objectives must be to secure a speedy, orderly and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces, to establish international peace and security in the area and to restore effective Lebanese authority and sovereignty up to the internationally recognized border. These words should be given their full and precise meaning. Thus they exclude completely any residual Israeli presence or some kind of "security zone" controlled by groups unauthorized by the Lebanese Government.
28. The Secretary-General has said that he believes the best means of achieving these objectives would be an orderly take-over from the withdrawing Israeli forces by UNIFIL together with units of the Lebanese army. We agree. We share his concern that unless some orderly way is found to achieve this, the situation is likely to continue to deteriorate to the grave disadvantage of all concerned. Some consultative mechanism is therefore essential to the process, as the Secretary-General has pointed out. We welcome the Secretary-General's offer to convoke a new conference of Israeli and Lebanese military representatives for this purpose. We urge both sides to accept this offer and to find means of co-operating on security in the border area to reduce the possibility of further violence.
29. At the same time, steps will need to be taken to ensure that UNIFIL is able to carry out safely and effectively the role entrusted to it. We have the utmost sympathy for the concerns of the troop contributors as expressed in their letter of 28 March. All concerned, particularly the Lebanese and Israeli authorities and the population of the area, have a duty to ensure UNIFIL's effective operation. An important step towards achieving this would be, as the Secretary-General has suggested, to arrive at a clear understanding that no armed military or paramilitary personnel of any kind other than UNIFIL and the Lebanese army should be allowed to operate in UNIFIL's area and that all parties and elements should give UNIFIL their explicit support and co-operation.
30. My Government is fully aware of the difficulties in the way of achieving a diplomatic solution on these lines. The situation is both complex and inflamed by the escalating violence. Today's events in Lebanon serve to underline these difficulties. But in our view they only strengthen the need for a diplomatic solution in southern Lebanon. The restoration of peace, security and normality there will be of benefit to the whole of Lebanon. The Secretary-General must continue his efforts in pursuance of the resolution just adopted, and the Governments concerned must give him their full co-operation. Delay will only make matters worse.
31. In the mean time, we are continuing to provide UNIFIL with substantial help over logistics and have given our support to the renewal of UNIFIL's mandate for a further six months. In doing so, we note that the Secretary-General has left open the possibility of reporting again to the Council in the near future. We believe that this is right and that the Council should be prepared during the next six months to give further thought to UNIFIL's mandate as soon as there is an opportunity for making progress. For the time being, the Force can continue to play a helpful role in the area while a way is sought for it to fulfil its original mandate. It is a troubled and difficult role to ask of the Force and the troop-contributing Governments. They richly deserve the continuing gratitude and support of the international community, especially since, as the Secretary-General has once again been obliged to point out, the Organization is increasingly far behind in their reimbursement. We look to the Israeli and Lebanese authorities to ensure that the major financial and political contribution which most of the international community is making in keeping UNIFIL in place is not wasted.
32. In closing, I should like once again to pay a sincere tribute to General Callaghan and all the personnel of UNIFIL and UNTSO for the courage and skill which they continue to bring to their task. Their dedication is an example to us all. We for our part must now work, as I have just described, for the peaceful solution that will show that their efforts have not been in vain.
33. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the post of President of the Council and at the same time express the conviction that, under your highly enlightened guidance, the Council will be able to cope successfully with the very responsible

tasks which are now before it. Like the representative of Australia, I can welcome you also as the representative of a country whose shores, like those of the Soviet Union, are on the Pacific. We wish you every success.

34. I should like to take this opportunity also to express our profound gratitude to the representative of Madagascar, Mr. Rabetafika, for the exemplary way in which he performed the functions of President of the Council during the month of March. That period turned out to be an extremely heavy one for all members of the Council, but of course the main burden fell squarely on the President's shoulders.

35. Last month marked seven years since UNIFIL was established. This is the seventeenth time now that the Council has had to extend that Force's mandate for a further period of six months. These figures in themselves indicate quite eloquently that the presence of the interim forces in Lebanon has become a protracted one.

36. The reasons for such a situation are well known. After the invasion of Lebanon in March 1978, Israel, in violation of Security Council resolutions, transferred the regions bordering on southern Lebanon to its puppets among the local mercenaries and in that way virtually refused to leave Lebanon. Then, as a result of further acts of aggression by Israel in June 1982, the United Nations forces found themselves far behind the occupying forces. Since then, Tel Aviv has been systematically and stubbornly refusing to carry out the clear-cut demands of the Council and the entire international community for the unconditional withdrawal of its troops from all Lebanese territory. In the light of that fact, it is Israel's fault that to this day UNIFIL has no opportunity to perform the functions entrusted to it—the main one being to monitor the withdrawal of the aggressor's forces behind the international frontier. This fact is quite properly underlined in the report of the Secretary-General which is now before the Council.

37. For almost three years now, Israel has continued to hold sway on Lebanese soil. Virtually isolating the southern part of Lebanon, the occupiers have turned it into a realm of violence, and daily they perpetrate new crimes there. Shooting, mass searches, arrests, demolition of houses, collective punishment and derisive treatment of the Arab population are the characteristic signature of those who only recently, without a hint of embarrassment, affirmed that they had brought 40 years of peace to the people of Lebanon.

38. Israeli repression has been particularly stepped up in recent months after the initiation of the forced relocation of the aggressor's forces under the pressure of the liberation struggle that has been unleashed by the Lebanese patriots. According to the report of the Secretary-General, in the period from February to the beginning of April of this year alone the occupiers carried out 32 major punitive operations against villages in the southern part of Lebanon as a result of which large segments of the population suffered

39. We are therefore completely justified in stating that the Israeli military has unleashed nothing less than a ter-

roristic war in the southern part of Lebanon against the local civilian population, one which they have officially dubbed "the iron-fist policy". At the same time, the Israelis have systematically flouted the most elementary norms of international law and the fundamental provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949¹. An example of this is the recent decision taken by the occupying authorities that more than 1,100 prisoners be transferred from Ansar concentration camp to Israeli territory, which runs directly counter to articles 49 and 76 of the aforementioned Convention.

40. We must focus separately on the Israeli occupiers' arrogant attitude towards UNIFIL personnel. We fully share the concern voiced on this score by the Secretary-General and those States which have supplied contingents to UNIFIL. As the report makes abundantly clear, there have been frequent instances when forces belonging to Israel, which is a Member of the United Nations, and their henchmen opened fire on UNIFIL personnel. Obstacles continue to be placed in the way of the normal functioning of United Nations forces, making it impossible for them to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them by the Security Council.

41. The Soviet delegation emphasizes once again that it is the bounden duty of the Council to ensure respect for the United Nations flag and for UNIFIL. The Council should brook no intervention in its activities, as it has directly insisted in past decisions, particularly in resolution 523 (1982). We think it would also be desirable for the Secretary-General to continue his practice of informing the Council of any instances when the forces are not in a position to perform their functions.

42. With reference to the situation in the southern part Lebanon, we cannot fail to advert to the fact that the lawless activities of the Israeli authorities in that part of the world have twice—in September 1984 and March 1985—been considered in the Council. In both instances the discussion led to an identical outcome: a veto cast by the United States against the Lebanese draft resolutions [S/16732 and S/17000], which asked that Israel merely act in accordance with the decisions of the Council and that it cease its terrorism against the civilian population in the occupied areas of Lebanon. That position taken by the United States has been assessed, quite rightly, not only as a political cover for its junior partner in the strategic alliance but also as a direct encouragement of that partner to pursue its inhuman policy towards Lebanon.

43. The Soviet Union is firm in condemning the ongoing Israeli aggression in Lebanon and reaffirms its solidarity with the people of that country who are struggling for their legitimate rights against the Israeli occupation.

44. The key to a solution of the Lebanese problem has been clearly set forth in Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), the latter demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the entire territory of Lebanon. Those resolutions must be acted upon. It is essential to guarantee respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Lebanon and to put an

end to the mistreatment of the civilian population, including the Palestinian refugees in the camps. The withdrawal of Israeli forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon would, of course, also create conditions that would enable UNIFIL finally to have an opportunity properly to perform the functions entrusted to it.

45. In the light of the foregoing and of the request of the Government of Lebanon, the Soviet delegation has decided not to object to the renewal of the UNIFIL mandate for a further term. At the same time, we should like to reiterate and reconfirm our fundamental position with regard to that Force, including the method by which it is financed. It is our understanding that, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report, should any fresh trends emerge as the situation develops, he will submit a further report to the Council, which would then, if necessary, meet again to take any necessary decisions.

46. Mr. KÉMOULARIA (France) (*interpretation from French*): It is my pleasure to join my colleagues in paying a tribute to you, Sir, and to wish you a presidency free from any untoward crises. Your first remarks have amply shown that you possess the necessary experience and skills for your task, and, like my colleagues, I am certain that the Council is in good hands this month. Let me also take this opportunity to say that relations between my country and yours are warm and that they have been so for many long years. I am particularly gratified, therefore, to express my esteem to you.

47. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika, who in difficult circumstances gave proof both of great human qualities and of diplomatic skills—to which I would add the fact that he never lost his good humour, an element I deem extremely important to the good work of the Council, whatever the problem we may be considering.

48. Once again, through its vote in favour of the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL, France has expressed its support for the Force's activities and role. Indeed, my country considers that, in spite of the many obstacles, both *de facto* and *de jure*, placed in the way of its activities, the effect of UNIFIL has been a positive one. No one can challenge the fact that despite the difficulties it has encountered on many sides that have particularly affected—as all here know—the French contingent, UNIFIL has been able to limit the scope of the incidents that have occurred within its zone of operation. I should like to take the opportunity provided by today's meeting to pay a special tribute to all the members of UNIFIL under the command of General Callaghan, to whom I extend a warm greeting here today. In any event, the Force must, as soon as possible, be put in a position fully to carry out its mandate as set forth in resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

49. As members of the Council know, France has spared no efforts to make its presence in the UNIFIL count and to ensure that the troop strength of the French contingent continues at the high level that has hitherto been maintained. In our view, however, we must constantly see to it

that UNIFIL plays the most useful role possible in the interests of Lebanon and of the civilian populations of that region, which continue to endure such harsh trials.

50. In voting in favour of the renewal of UNIFIL's mandate, France has wished once again to demonstrate its commitment to the unity, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon. However, my country would express the strong wish that during this new six-month period the Secretary-General, whose report has received our full attention, will continue to an even greater degree to study and, if need be, to foster all necessary measures to ensure the full discharge of UNIFIL's mandate.

51. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America): I too want to join our colleagues in extending congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Council for this month. Indeed, I would like to say that I associate myself with the remarks made by the representative of the United Kingdom concerning Peru's representation at this table. I would also like to extend our thanks to Mr. Rabetafika for the truly outstanding manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of March.

52. The United States has voted in favour of extending the mandate of UNIFIL because we believe that UNIFIL can help create stable conditions in southern Lebanon in the months ahead. We are of the view, however, that such a contribution to stability can be made only if all the parties involved agree to co-operate in UNIFIL'S mission. It is for that reason that we support most strongly the Secretary-General's suggestion that a consultative mechanism be created under United Nations auspices—such as perhaps renewal of the Naqoura talks—whose purpose it would be to effect the needed co-operation of the parties so that constructive results can indeed be attained.

53. As the Secretary-General has noted, UNIFIL was able in the early years of its operations to bring about a significant reduction of violence in its zone of operation. In doing so, it served valiantly in dangerous and volatile circumstances. More recently, UNIFIL has provided protection and humanitarian assistance to the residents of the area of its operation, serving as a focus of civil order respected by the population and thus continuing to contribute to efforts to achieve stability in the area. However, as many parties, most particularly the troop contributors, have pointed out, UNIFIL has in recent years faced increasingly anomalous conditions, which have pointed up the fact that the Force's present restricted role is both inappropriate and unsatisfactory.

54. This appraisal of present conditions leads us to the conclusion that a clarification of UNIFIL's role, agreed upon by the parties concerned, must be achieved soon to adapt to a situation which will arise as Israel completes its withdrawal. Neither the troop contributors, nor the Secretary-General, nor the Council, can be expected to continue supporting the mission of the Force unless such a clarification is agreed upon in the months ahead. The present extension of the mandate, for which we voted because

of our strong commitment to UNIFIL's potential role in Lebanese peace-keeping, could well be the last interim extension that the international community would be prepared to support.

55. As the Secretary-General stated in his report, we all owe to the cause of peace and stability, the troop contributors and the United Nations itself, our best efforts to ensure that UNIFIL's present highly unsatisfactory situation does not continue. We therefore urge all parties to redouble efforts during the coming mandate period to achieve an agreed role for UNIFIL, a role that utilizes its potential and assigns to it an important task in the continuing international effort to restore Lebanese sovereignty and peaceful conditions in southern Lebanon.

56. As to the comments offered by our colleague from the Soviet Union concerning the votes cast by the United States on the two draft resolutions to which he referred, let me say simply that our reasons for voting as we did were fully explained at the time these votes were cast. We regret that the Soviet Union considered it necessary to use this occasion to direct criticisms at us once again. We do not believe that the comments require any further elaboration on our part.

57. Mr. ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago): It gives me great pleasure to convey my congratulations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of April. Given your well-known abilities, we look forward to a continued period of wise and efficient guidance under your presidency.

58. May I also take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, the representative of Madagascar, our appreciation for the skilful and efficient manner in which he conducted the business of the Council during the month of March.

59. My Government firmly believes that the presence of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon can be an essential factor of stability in the region, contributing to the maintenance of Lebanon's territorial sovereignty and integrity and to its political independence; it can also help to ensure the return of effective State authority in the area. However, in order that the peace-keeping operation of the Force may attain the objectives of its original mandate as laid down in resolution 425 (1978), certain conditions must be fulfilled.

60. First of all, the terms of the relevant resolution must be fully implemented. In this regard, we have welcomed the decisions of the Government of Israel to withdraw all its forces from Lebanon. Their withdrawal to the internationally recognized borders is an essential prerequisite to peace. We have noted that the initial steps taken by the Government of Israel to translate this decision into reality are already in force.

61. Next, the security of all the members of the peace-keeping forces and of all United Nations personnel operating in the area must be safeguarded. My Government views with concern the high number of casualties suffered

among the ranks of those forces, as well as the increasing security risks with which they are confronted; it consequently calls for the full co-operation of all parties concerned and for the cessation of threats and acts of violence, from whatever source. The civilian population of Lebanon also has suffered more than can be justified in any circumstances.

62. My Government wishes at this time to express its appreciation to those countries which have provided troops to UNIFIL. We regard their contribution as a tangible commitment to uphold the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We wish also to compliment the Secretary-General on his succinct report on UNIFIL. More important, we wish to commend his continuing efforts to obtain the agreement of the parties involved in order to ensure the smooth functioning of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon.

63. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago reiterates its support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, and supports the extension of the mandate of UNIFIL which expires on 19 April 1985, for a further period of six months. Let me take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to the patience, courage and dedication of the officers, men and staff of the Force, who serve in the most taxing and complex conditions. Such commitment demands, on our part, nothing but our unstinting support. They are prepared to make the supreme sacrifice; we can do no less than to support them in all matters and in every manner we can.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Lebanon, on whom I now call.

65. Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and to assure you of our confidence in your ability and long diplomatic experience, which guarantee that the work of the Council will be well guided.

66. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika, representative of Madagascar, for his activities and endeavours, and for the ability and statesmanship he displayed during his term as President of the Council last month.

67. Five newly elected members have joined the Council this year, and I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the representatives of Australia, Denmark, Madagascar, Thailand and Trinidad and Tobago. I wish them success in their tasks and look forward to their co-operation with colleagues on the Council towards the attainment of the objectives for which it was established. I am confident that they will discharge the great responsibility associated with membership of the Council.

68. After witnessing the Council adopt the draft resolution to renew the mandate of UNIFIL for six months and hearing the statements of some members of the Council, I

must express the thanks of the Lebanese Government and the Lebanese delegation for the Council's responsiveness to Lebanon's request and the recommendation of the Secretary-General contained in his report. We extend thanks and appreciation to him for the report, which in our view portrays a painful reality and reflects his concern and that of the troop-contributing countries about the future status of the Force.

69. That concern is the inevitable result of Israel's disruption of the Naqoura talks and its insistence on refusing to implement Council decisions calling for it to withdraw fully from Lebanese territories and enable UNIFIL to deploy along the international borders, making southern Lebanon a zone of security and peace. Israel's insistence on establishing a security belt in Lebanese territory, excluding UNIFIL and the Lebanese army, is a flagrant defiance of the Council, a deliberate flouting of its resolutions, a cynical disregard for the international Organization and its forces and an undermining of the endeavours of the Secretary-General and his assistants—especially the efforts made by the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Brian Urquhart, and Mr. Jean-Claude Aimé, on the instructions of the Secretary-General.

70. In this regard, I should like to express to Mr. Urquhart the appreciation of the Lebanese Government for his endeavours and its confidence in him, in the hope that those endeavours will continue with a view to attaining the full implementation of the resolutions of the Council.

71. I must also express the thanks and appreciation of the Government of Lebanon to the troop-contributing countries and to the Commander of the Force, General Callaghan, its officers, soldiers and staff. The demeanour and actions of the Force and the fact that it has withstood, under difficult circumstances, various pressures and practices whose source is well known to the Council deserve a generous tribute. The Secretary-General devoted part of his report to those pressures and practices and enumerated acts of aggression against some UNIFIL units by the Israeli army during the past six months. He also enumerated some Israeli practices against Lebanese cities and villages, and the arbitrary measures taken against Lebanese civilians.

72. We regard the Council's adoption of the draft resolution as further affirmation of its commitment to its previous resolutions and its insistence on implementing them in order to enable UNIFIL to discharge its assigned tasks of securing full Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territories, assisting the Lebanese State to exercise its sovereignty and authority over all Lebanese territory up to the internationally recognized borders and transforming the south into a zone of peace and security.

73. In my letter of 27 March this year to the Secretary-General [S/17062], I defined Lebanon's position with regard to UNIFIL and Lebanon's understanding of the role it is required to play. That position and understanding are consistent with the Secretary-General's report, on the

one hand, and, on the other hand, with the letter dated 28 March to the Secretary-General from the representatives of the troop-contributing countries [S/17067, annex].

74. First, the UNIFIL area of deployment extends from the Litani River southward as far as the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. Secondly, the whole of this region should be under the exclusive authority of the Lebanese army, assisted in its task solely by the United Nations Force, since Lebanon does not accept any role for any military force which is not a legal force. Thirdly, Lebanon is in no circumstance prepared to accept the creation of what are known as buffer zones or of security belts of any kind inside its territory, something that by implication has been rejected by all the resolutions of the Council that provided for the withdrawal of all Israeli forces beyond the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon. Fourthly, the area of deployment of UNIFIL should not become a disengagement zone between illegal armed forces within Lebanese territory. Fifthly, UNIFIL's posts and area of deployment will be determined by agreement with the Lebanese Government alone.

75. While my Government is convinced that UNIFIL's presence is an essential and basic factor for stability in southern Lebanon, it is also convinced that the provision of a minimum degree of security for the work of the Force is also basic and necessary. Therefore, Lebanon is still ready to co-operate with the Security Council, the Secretariat and UNIFIL to the greatest extent within the scope of its understanding of the future role of the Force and in accordance with its position with regard to the Force, which is fully in support of the provisions of the Council's resolutions.

76. Israel, which has consistently refused to assign any role to UNIFIL, must abide by those resolutions to allow UNIFIL to undertake the tasks mandated to it.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Israel in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite the representative of Israel to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

79. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have seen your wise counsel here, and we have confidence in your stewardship. I should like also to congratulate the representative of Madagascar for the successful completion of last month's presidency.

80. My Government has made its policy on Lebanon quite clear in various statements, including those that I have made here. I do not want to take up the Council's time on this; I want to make a few brief points on Lebanon that pertain to today's discussion and then to respond to one of the speakers in particular.

81. The first point is this. We welcome the Secretary-General's call to reconvene a forum of consultations. We were not the ones who broke the talks in Naqoura. We suffered, I would say, great pains of frustration because we were unable to find a serious interlocutor in Naqoura. I am sure I represent the feeling of my Government when I say that we are delighted to hear the expression of a new willingness on the part of the Lebanese to reconvene at Naqoura, and we will be very happy to return to those talks or to another forum to discuss ways of establishing peace and tranquillity in the south of Lebanon.

82. The second point is this. What is the problem we are facing? We are facing the problem of how to stop cross-border attacks once Israel completes its withdrawal. The representative of Lebanon has talked about the the Lebanese army, as have others here. Well, which army are we talking about? Is it the army that is regrettably unable today to keep the peace in Beirut, where dozens of people are being slaughtered, or in Burj Al-Barajneh, or in Sidon? This is an army that cannot keep peace in its own backyard, and it is being asked to police a very large area, for which, to be realistic, we believe it is not equipped. That is my second observation, and I make it, I must say, with regret.

83. The third point relates to the suggestion that UNFIL fulfil this function. I think there is a confusion—a confusion in good faith—among some of the representatives on the difference between peace-keeping and peace-enforcing. The task of policing a border strip against the infiltration of terrorists, against rocketing and shelling, is not merely a peace-keeping function; it is a peace-enforcing function, which an international force, by its very nature and inherent structure, is not organized to carry out. Having spoken with quite a few of the representatives of the troop-contributing countries, I know there is growing recognition that that is the case here.

84. This leads to my fourth point, namely, that the security of northern Israel and the prevention of terrorist attacks is something that Israel does not expect others to take upon themselves. The Israel Defence Forces will assume that function from our own lines, from our side of the borders. And however difficult a task that may be, it will not be assisted by the introduction of forces that are really unsuited or unable to perform that function.

85. My next remarks relate to the words we heard here from the Soviet representative. He chose to lecture us on

the evils of occupation. He spoke of puppets and local mercenaries, of a realm of violence imposed on the occupied country, of shootings and mass searches, of collective punishment, of repression, of a terroristic war against the civilian population. I find this very encouraging. The tone was condemnatory, and I find that encouraging. I would like to ask if this indicates a change of heart or merely a sense of guilt.

86. On 13 March 1985, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights approved the report² of its Special Rapporteur, Felix Ermacora, on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan. The report states that "gross violations of human rights" have occurred in Afghanistan. It lists a host of abuses committed during the Soviet occupation, including the maiming of children by booby-trap toys, the wholesale destruction of agriculture and the deliberate bombing of hospitals. The report cites Afghan witnesses and talks of four specific examples when massacres of civilians took place between 1982 and 1984. It says, for example, that on 12 October 1983, in villages in the province of Kandahar, "360 people were executed in the village square, including 20 young girls and about 20 old people". The Soviets, the report says, have both "spread the extent of the violence" in Afghanistan and "brought about a selective suppression" of people who oppose communist policies. It says that, after the Soviet forces joined the combat, hostilities reached unprecedented proportions involving "systematic bombardment of a number of villages" and terror directed against civilians. The result of all these activities is that more than half of the pre-invasion population of Afghanistan—approximately 17 million people—have been forced to become refugees, either in another country or as internal refugees within Afghanistan.

87. So what is the Soviet record in Afghanistan? It is a record of daily random bombings and maimings and killings of children and civilians; it is a record of the destruction of schools, hospitals and mosques; it is a record of the destruction of crop lands and irrigation systems, of the use of chemicals, of the burning of thousands of acres of forest; it is a record of imprisonment and torture. It is, in short, a record that at the very least should direct the Soviet representative to ashamed and painful silence.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of this agenda item.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

² E/CN.4/1985/21.

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